

AESCHYLUS

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FORTUNA

Aeschylus, according to the Marmor Parium, died 456/55 B. C. at the age of 69. He was, then, born 525/24 in Eleusis; belonging to a family of Eupatridae he was initiated into the Mysteries. At the age of 35 he fought at Marathon, at 45 at Salamis. He travelled to Sicily twice, 476/75 and between 471 and 469. There, the *Persae* were re-enacted. He died in Gela, after having won a victory with the *Oresteia* in 458. Suidas says that he wrote 90 elegies and tragedies. A list of 73 titles, of which the last column is missing, follows the Vita in two manuscripts. Here, 13 victories are mentioned while Suidas tells of 28. Only 7 plays have survived; probably they represent a selection made in the 2nd century A.D.

Prometheus, *Septem*, and *Persae*, the plays that are easiest to understand, were most widely read and copied. Up to the 9th century they were studied in Constantinople in school and were familiar to the educated public there. They are usually referred to as the 'Byzantine Triad'.

About 1423, Giovanni Aurispa, the Sicilian, purchased a manuscript containing Aeschylus which he sent to Niccolò Nic-

coli in Florence. This manuscript, written around 1000 A.D., is known as the Mediceus (M, Laurentianus XXXII, 9), the basic text, although 14 of its pages are missing which led the first editors and translators to believe that the *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroi* were one play. Only after Petrus Victorius supplemented the Mediceus with another Laurentianus (cod. XXXI, 8 known as F) was the *Oresteia* restored. The Triad has an independent manuscript tradition, although there was a common archetype. Especially Wilamowitz recognized the independence of the codex Venetus, Zan. gr. 616 (663) of the 15th (?) cent. There is also a valuable manuscript of Bessarion, Marcianus Zan. gr. 468 (653), 13th or 14th Cent., which contains Ag. 211-348. The scholia of the Mediceus may go back to Didymus (4th Cent. A.D.?). There are younger Byzantine scholia to the Triad. Aeschylus' works were unknown to the West during the Middle Ages.

There are no Latin translations of complete plays of Aeschylus before the *editio princeps* of the Greek text prepared by Franciscus Asulanus and printed by Aldus Manutius, Venice 1518. Two fragments, however, of lost Aeschylean plays appear

in a Latin verse translation in the version of Plato's *Republic* by Petrus Candidus Decembrius, which is found, e. g., in cod. Vat. lat. 10669. Decembrius included them later among his own *Carmina*, preserved in cod. Trivulzianus 793 in Milan, f. 3^v and 4^v and Ambros. ms. D 112 inf. The captions are: 'Ex Eschilo poeta' and 'Ex Eschilo poeta conquestio Thetidis'. The fragments are from Aeschylus' *Niobe* (August Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1889, reprint Hildesheim 1964, p. 52, fr. 156, Plato *Resp.* II p. 380a, quem locum repetit Eusebius, Praep. Euang. p. 643c) and from an unidentified play (fr. 350, p. 105, Plato *Resp.* II p. 383b quem locum repetit Eusebius, Praep. Euang. p. 647a). These translations are noteworthy since they are so early; Decembrius died in 1477.¹

Among the translators of the 16th century there is a marked interest in the 'Byzantine Triad.' Only after 1557 when a text with the whole *Oresteia* had been published by Petrus Victorius with Henricus Stephanus in Paris do translators realize that there are seven plays. In the early translations there are some wrong attributions of speeches throughout.

Gulielmus Canterus, whose edition of the text was printed posthumously in Antwerp in 1580, added notes in Latin, many of them dealing with metrics, and translated, in the form of an appendix, selected fragments from the lost and extant plays into Latin verse.

The standard edition and Latin translation for later times was the one by the barrister Thomas Stanley of Pembroke Hall, London 1663. It might be noted that in his introduction Stanley suggested that the translator Sanravius (see below I, 1) is identical with the humanist Sauromannus — a false assumption, but echoed on Stanley's authority by later scholars as late as G. Hermann. Stanley used verbatim large parts of the translation by Garbitius without acknowledging this.

1. My attention was called to the Decembrius mss. by Dr. Paul Oskar Kristeller.

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COMPOSITE EDITIONS

- 1555, Basileae (Basel): Joannes Oporinus (on last page: Ludovicus Lucius). BM; CtY; DK 2, 89; *Index Aureliensis* A 1 (1962) 97. The plays appear in the following order: *Prometheus*, *Septem*, *Persae*, *Agamemnon* (to. v. 1159), *Choephoroi* (printed as part of the *Agamemnon*), *Eumenides*, *Supplices*. The translations are all in prose and by Joannes Sanravius.
 1614, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): Pierre de la Rovière. Title: *Poetae Graeci Veteres*. BM; MH; NIC (my attention was called to this edition by Prof. James Hutton). The plays occupy pages 598-719 of volume I, and appear in the following order: *Prometheus* (598-614), *Septem* (614-630), *Persae* (630-645), *Agamemnon* (646-671), *Choephoroi* (671-687), *Eumenides* (687-703), *Supplices* (703-719). The edition is in Greek and Latin. The translations are anonymous, but are actually those of Sanravius, with the exception of the *Prometheus* which is given in the translation of Garbitius. The same is true of the argumenta, except for that of the *Prometheus*, which is neither by Garbitius nor by Sanravius, but probably by the editor himself. Also the explicit of the *Agamemnon* and the argumentum of the *Choephoroi* are new and probably by the editor.

I. *Agamemnon*

TRANSLATIONS

1. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

1. *Dedication*

[*Inc.*]: Λαμπροτάτῳ Ἀνδρὶ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΙ κεζηλύῳ προσέδρῳ Ἰωάννης ὁ Σανραβίος εῦ πράττειν. Ὁρθῶς ὡς ἐγῶμαι, καὶ καλῶς οἱ διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς πολὺ τιμᾶν τοῦτο ἡμέρας ἐκάστης λόγους περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους πράττονται.

[*Expl.*]: δέχονται οὖν δέομαι σου, λαμπρότατε ἄνερ, τὸ δῶρον τοῦτο, θεῶν δίκην, οὐ νῦντο τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλάχιστα λαμβάνειν οὐκ αἰσχύνονται. ἔρρωσο.

2. *Dedication*

[*Inc.*]: ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΟΥ ΒΕΡΤΡΑΝΔΟΥ, Πηγίνου πρὸς τὸν ἐντευξομένους ἀργυρωστὰς ἐπίγραμμα.

Θυγατέρες μῶσαι Ζηνὸς τοῦ τερπικεραύνου

ποιητὰν λιγνῷ εἰν ἑλικῶν τρεφόν.

[*Expl.*]: Νῦν περὶ καλῶς ἐνθα τραγῳδιεῖ· τοῦ γε δαρείου

ἔλλαδι καὶ ξέρξου δυστύχεος πολέμου.

3. *Dedication*

[*Inc.*]: EIUSDEM AD LECTOREM. Attica Cecropio regno decorata vetusto, Αἴσχυλον genuit laudibus eximum.

[*Expl.*]: Cui merito debes magnas persolvere grates,

Muneris ut tanti praemia digna ferat.

Aeschylus Poetae Vita.

[*Inc.*]: Aeschylus tragicus poeta, genere quidem Atheniensis, populo Eleusinius fuit; Euphorionis filius, Cynagiri et Amini frater, ex ingenuis naturam habens.

[*Expl.*]: victorias omnes tredecim acceptit, non paucas vero post mortem victorias abstulit.

Accompanying poem (in some copies this is found at the end of the volume, p. 380).

[*Inc.*]: In translationem Aeschylus Paulus Ortenthalerus Oenivallensis.

Aeschylus antiquos inter celeberrimus autor

Ingenii mira dexteritate valens...

[*Expl.*]: Propterea linguae graecae studiosa juventus

Sanravii hic gratus sit tibi mente labor.

Argumentum

[*Inc.*]: Argumentum Aeschylus Agamemnonis. Agamemnon ad Ilium proficiscens, Clytemnestrae, si depopulatus Ilium esset, dicit illa die se face significaturum.

[*Expl.*]: Acta est haec fabula imperante Philocleo vicesimae octavae Olympiadis secundo anno.

Text

[*Inc.*]: (Qui praeatur non (sic) est custos constitutus ab Aegistho). A Diis quidem liberationem peto laborum Custodiae annuae, diu vero dormiebam Supra tectum Atriarum canis instar.

[*Expl.*]: (v. 1156 - v. 1159, p. 139, followed without interruption by v. 10 of the Choepori). Ca. Heu heu nuptiae Paridis perniciosae Amicis, heu potus patrius Scamandri. Tunc enim circa tuas ripas misera crescebam alimentis.

In Agamemnonem (Scholia by Sanravius)

[*Inc.*]: Viderat enim qui ab Agamemnone constitutus erat speculator flammam quandam, putabatque regem ipsum advenire. . . .

[*Expl.*]: φοινίαν, σκύλλαν. Haec puella tam impia fuit, ut non verita sit patrem et patriam prodere propter impudicum amorem non tantum peregrini hominis, sed etiam hostis.

Editions:

See composite editions of 1555 and 1614. The latter edition (p. 671) contains a new explicit, presumably added by Pierre de la Rovière after the concluding lines of the play had been discovered and published.

[*Expl.*]: His etiam aedibus ego tuque imperantes de caeteris pro placito disponemus.

Biogr.:

Joannes Sanravius (Jean de Saint Ravis).

Very little is known about his life. He came from a noble family which, on account of religious conviction, had to flee from the Auvergne to Montpellier where a later-born member became governor. The only document about the translator's life that has so far been found is his matricu-

lation at the University of Basel in the year 1552/1553 as 'Dominus Joannes Sandravius Monspissulanensis.'¹ As Joannes Oporinus (Johann Herbster) happened to be professor of Greek at the University of Basel in 1554 it is quite understandable that Sanravius, perhaps his pupil, published his Aeschylus translation with Herbster as his printer the year after.

I am indebted for most of the above information to M^{lle} Edith Bayle, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, to the director of the Archives de l'Hérault, and to Dr. Max Burckhardt, Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Basel.

2. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

a. Fragmentary prose translation of choruses and lyrics

Thomas Stanley in the Preface to his edition (1663, London) notes that Isaac Casaubonus had planned an edition of Aeschylus, but Stanley knows nothing else of Casaubonus' Aeschylean studies. Eduard Fraenkel has brilliantly reconstructed this lost chapter of the history of scholarship in an Appendix to his edition of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (3 vols., Oxford, 1950. The Appendix is found v. I, 62-78 : The Evidence for Casaubon's Work on Aeschylus).

As a young professor at Geneva, Casaubonus planned an edition of the whole of Aeschylus with a full commentary, and he announced his plan in two places in his commentary on Strabo published in 1587. While the full edition never came to fruition, we have the results of Casaubonus' continued active concern with Aeschylus both in the marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge and also in a Paris manuscript.

The first stage of Casaubonus' work is contained in marginal notes to the Petrus Victorius edition of Aeschylus (1557. Paris, H. Stephanus) now preserved in the

1. Hans Georg Wackernagel, *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, Basel 1956, II. 76, No. 4.

Cambridge University Library under the shelf-mark Adv. b. 3. 3. The earliest marginalia consist of short notes, largely of readings which differ from the Victorius text. A second group consists of what Fraenkel calls 'headings'. Finally there is a third group of miscellaneous notes both critical and explanatory. By far the most important are devoted to the *Agamemnon*; next, at a considerable remove come the notes on the *Septem ad Thebas* and on the *Persae*. Finally Casaubonus added prose translations of a number of choruses and of other lyrics from the *Agamemnon*, the *Septem ad Thebas*, and the *Choephoroi*.

Of the *Agamemnon*, Casaubonus translated in this way lines 104-257, 367-487, 681-809, 975-1034, 1448-61, 1468-80, 1497-1512, 1521-36, and 1567-76.

Manuscript:

(Micro. and reported by Paul Oskar Kristeller). Cambridge University Library, Adv. b.3.3 ; cf. H. R. Luard, *A Catalogue of the Adversaria and Printed Books containing Manuscript Notes preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1864) p. 34 ; Luard gives the antiquated shelf mark Nn VI 5. The volume contains editions of Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus, and Aeschylus, annotated by Casaubonus ; Aeschylus is found in the 1557 Stephanus edition. In the Cambridge Library, Adv. e.3.2. (Luard pp. 26-27) contains Casaubonus' notes on the Canter edition of Aeschylus (Antwerp, 1580). For details on the notations on Aeschylus in Adv. b.3.3., see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.

b. Complete prose translation

In his last years, Casaubonus' interest seems to have been concentrated more and more on the *Agamemnon*, and a Paris ms. (BN, Ms. grec. 2791, formerly codex Dupuy-Reg. 3330. 2) contains not only a complete translation but also a full commentary (for the commentary, see below I. b).

The title-page of the manuscript reads : 'Aeschyli Agamemnon Isaaco Casaubono interprete MDCX' and a later hand has added 'cum ejusdem notis et observationi-

bus erud. ; at the end, we find 'Absoluit Isaacus Casaubonus 5 Kal. Mart. 1610.'

The manuscript contains in a first hand the Greek text of the *Agamemnon*, an interlinear translation above the Greek text, and some notes of a fairly elementary character ; the same hand provided the colophon which enables us to date the translation in 1610.

The translation itself, as Fraenkel points out, is clearly intended to be of use even for readers with a very elementary knowledge of Greek ; every Greek word has its Latin equivalent written above it, and the word order is barbarous. Nevertheless the complete translation of the Paris manuscript is identical with the *disiecta membra* of the Cambridge marginalia in all cases where these are available for comparison.

Argumentum Agamemnonis Aeschyli.

[*Inc.*] : (f. 2) Introducitur hic primus quidam custos qui constitutus fuerat a Clytaemnestra in specula altissima qui Troiam versus semper respiceret. . . .

[*Expl.*] : est autem sciendum hic hunc custodem nihil dicere aperte, sed tantum quid sentiat aperire et significare. (f. 2v blank).

Text

[*Inc.*] : (f. 3v) Deos quidem peto horum liberationem malorum custodiae nempe annuae longitudinem, quam custodiam excubans in domibus Atridarum a longo tempore canis instar stellarum didici nocturnarum, chorum, coetum. . .

[*Expl.*] : (f. 96) animum advertas ad hos insanos latratus et tu disponemus omnia habentes in potestate hanc domum.

Absolvit Isaacus Casaubonus 5 kal. Mart. 1610.

Manuscript :

(Micro. and reported by Paul Oskar Kristeller).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Grec 2791, cart. s. XVII in. 108 fols, f. 2-96. Cf. *Inventaire sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, by H. Omont, Troisième partie, Ancien Fonds Grec, Belles-Lettres. . . (1888) p. 41 ; Vauvilliers, 'Notices du Manuscrit d'Eschyle,

de la Bibliothèque du Roi, No. 2791', *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 1(1787) 324-30.

Biogr. : See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

COMMENTARIES

a. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Ms. B. P. L. 180 of the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, contains commentaries by Franciscus Portus (1511-81) on all of the tragedies of Aeschylus except the *Supplices*. The commentaries must be not earlier than 1557, since they refer to the edition of Aeschylus published by Stephanus in Paris during that year ; but they are not otherwise dated.

Argumentum

[*Inc.*] : (f. 97) Cum ad bellum Trojanum proficisceretur Agamemnon, pollicitus est uxori, Clytemnestrae, si Troiam expugnasset. . . . The argumentum breaks off at the bottom of f. 97v in the middle of the Dramatis personae. The following folio 98 begins with a commentary on line 861 : *τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα*. Dixit paulo ante Clytaemnestra se miserrimam egisse vitam. . . .

[*Expl.* of commentary] : (f. 197) (line 1662-63) et effudisse talia adversus me iurgia. ferri potest? quasi diceret, *δαίμονας. δαίμονος πειρωμένους.* lacescentes malum genium, idest infortunium sibi quaerentes.

Manuscript :

(Micro. and reported by Paul Oskar Kristeller).

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, ms. B. P. L 180, cart. s. XVI, 347 fols. Cf. *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leiden-sis, Codices manuscripti*, vol. III (1912), Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latini, p. 88. The commentaries are found as follows : Eumenides f. 5-65v ; f. 66-68 blank ; Septem ad Thebas f. 69-96 ; Agamemnon 97-197 ; 197v-198v blank ; Prometheus f. 199-247v ; f. 248 an Aeschylus citation from Plato, *De republica* II 383A-B ; Vita Aeschyli f. 249-51 ; Choephoroi f. 255-311v ; Persae f. 315-47.

Biogr. : See below Longinus I. a.

b. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

During a long period, Casaubonus was actively concerned with Aeschylus and particularly with the *Agamemnon*; the results are preserved in the marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge and in a Paris manuscript (see above I, 2). We find not only preliminary notes for a commentary but also the complete commentary itself.

The marginalia found in the Cambridge copy (1557. Paris, H. Stephanus) contain a large number of critical and explanatory notes on Aeschylus, and by far the largest number are devoted to the *Agamemnon*. The same scribe who was responsible for Casaubonus' literal translation of the *Agamemnon* in the Paris manuscript also added a number of notes of a fairly elementary character. These notes represent reworkings of the marginalia of the Cambridge edition, and like the literal translation, had been completed by 1610.

The Paris manuscript also contains a number of additional notes by a different hand. In Fraenkel's words, we have here 'neither a mass of 'private' notes nor mere materials for a commentary, but to all intents and purposes Casaubon's commentary on the *Agamemnon* in as nearly final a form as it was possible for him to produce in the harassed conditions of the last few years of his life' (Fraenkel, *op. cit.* I, 74). Fraenkel further shows that the commentary is to be dated in the last years of Casaubon's life, between his arrival in London in 1610 and his death in 1614.

[*Inc.*]: (f. 3^v) *κοιμᾶσθαι* (line 2) non dicitur de dormitione hoc loco sed de eo qui fuerit alicubi collocatus ut inde se non moveat.../...

[*Expl.*]: (f. 96) *ἀπενθύνη* (line 1667) dirigat. Utitur D. Paulus epistola quadam ad Cor. [Chapter XVI, 2] eleganti verbo ad idem significandum quod hic vult significare Aeschylus verbo *ἀπενθύνη*. Hoc verbum est *ενοδοῦν* quod hoc loco ita esset accommodandum *ἔαν δαιμον 'Ορέστην ενοδώσῃ*, idest si deus Orestem huc dirigat

et promovere iter suum faciat.

Manuscript: See above I. 2. b.

Biogr.: See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

II. *Choephoroi*

TRANSLATIONS

1. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

The play is treated as a part of the *Agamemnon* and begins with line 10.

[*Inc.*]: (p. 139) Or. Quam rem video, quae tandem haec caterva, Et mulierum vestibus Ornata, cui calamitati assimilabo?

[*Expl.*]: Nunc vero rursus tertius venit unde servator aut fatum dicam, Ubi vide-licet perficiet, ubi desinet Sopitus furor detrimenti?

Scholia: Sanravius' scholia on the *Choephoroi* are included with those on the *Agamemnon*; see above under I. 1.

Editions: See above under I. 1. The edition of 1614 (p. 671-687) also has an argumentum, presumably added by Pierre de la Rovi  re after the separate existence of the *Choephoroi* had been discovered.

Argumentum Tragediae quae inscribitur Choephoroi.

[*Inc.*]: Clytemnestrae matris suae cruentas manus, atque Aegisthi, qui Agamemnonis caedem adiuverat, effugiens Orestes in exilio educatus est.

[*Expl.*]: Dauliea nomine fingens, prius quam Aegisthus eum interroget, cuias sit, illum humi mortuum prosternit, celeri circumveniens ense, ipsamque matrem, reginam Clytemnestram.

Biography: see above under I. 1.

2. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

Fragmentary prose translation of choruses and lyrics.

Casaubonus long concerned himself with a planned edition of Aeschylus with commentary. Though the edition never came to fruition, much of Casaubonus' preparatory work for it has survived (see I. 2 above). The marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge contain translations of the following choral and lyric

passages of the *Choephoroi*: 22-83, 152-63, 306-71, 380-414. For further detail, see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63.

Manuscript: See above I. 2. a.

Biogr.: See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

COMMENTARY

a. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the Choephoroi, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above I. a.

Argumentum

[*Inc.*] (f. 255) *χοηφόρων ὑπόθεσις*. Quo tempore Clytaemnestra maritum Agamemnonem per insidias interfecit, eo Electra timens Orestae fratri saluti. . . .

[*Expl.*] : (f. 255v) *χοηφόραι* est eius inscriptio a captivis mulieribus, ex quibus constat chorus, et quae ferebant *χοάς* idest inferias ad monumentum Agamemnonis.

Commentary:

[*Inc.*] : (f. 256) *Toqὸς γὰρ φόβος* (sic) (line 32). Summam istius carminis illam esse diximus: significat spectatoribus chorus se missum a Clytaemnesta cum istis inferiis. . . .

[*Expl.*] : (f. 311v) (line 1068) congeries malorum, quae in Pelopidarum familia acciderunt.

Manuscript: See I. a., above.

Biogr.: See Longinus I. a, below.

III. Eumenides

TRANSLATIONS

1. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

Argumentum

[*Inc.*]: Aeschyli Eumenides. Argumentum Aristophanis. Orestes Delphis obsecus furiis, consilio Apollinis venit Athenas in delubrum Minervae. Cuius consilio vincens, reversus est Argos.

[*Expl.*]: Has vero furias placans, vocavit Eumenidas. Apud nullum iacet fabula.

Text.

[*Inc.*]: Primo quidem prece hac deorum honoro Terram primivatem, ex qua Themin aiunt, Quae secunda a matre sedit. . .

[*Expl.*]: Libationes omnino in domo sint. Palladis civibus Iupiter omnino specula-

tor. Sic enim Parca simul descendit. Iubilate nunc in cantionibus.

In Eumenides (Scholia)

[*Inc.*]: *πρωτόμαντιν γαῖαν*] Delphos intelligit. Sed sciendum est a principio terram illam vaticinari solitam fuisse. . . .

[*Expl.*] *ἐρεχθέως*] Id est, in Attica habebitis sedem, nam Athenienses Parcas quas ipsi Eumenidas vocant, coluerunt a tempore quo Orestes eo venit. Nam ipse Orestes illis struxit templum, in quod si quis sanguine pollutus ingrediatur, statim ad insaniam prae metu redigitur.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

2. JOSEPH SCALIGER (lost)

Joseph Scaliger translated the *Eumenides* early in his scholarly career, by 1564 at the latest. He mentions it as completed in his *Coniectanea in M. Terentium Varronem* (Paris, 1565), of which the dedicatory letter is dated 1564: ‘illam vero Aeschyli fabulam [sc. *Eumenidas*] totam nos veritus, veteri stylo Pacuviano. In quo maxime sunt reprehendendi isti, qui in veteribus poetis vertendis, eos tam dissimiles sui reddunt, ut pudeat me legere Homerum Silii Italici, Sophoclem Senecae verbis loquentem. Sed de his alias’ (p. 135).

In what appears to be a roughly contemporary letter to his friend and associate, Florens Christianus (see below VI. 4), Scaliger writes of his translation entitling the play *Dirae* and indicates that he has incorporated into his translation some of his emendations of the Greek text. ‘Tamen mitto at te Aratum et Diras meas: sic enim eas appello. nihil enim habent Aeschyli, quod scio tamen habituras, quia censurae et iudicio tuo eas committo. . . Videris oro, ne Dirarum quaterniones distrahantur. Et si quaeram (pauca vero sunt) inveneris quae tibi videntur a graeca lectione dissentire, scito ex nostra correctione id esse. Vale.

Non habeo aliud exemplar Eumenidum. Quare peto a te ut illud quamprimum ubi usus fueris ad me mittas. Promisi enim alicui’ (Joseph Scaliger, *Epistolae*, Frankfurt, 1628, ep. XXX p. 123). The trans-

lation is also mentioned by Gulielmus Canterus in a letter to J. Scaliger printed in their edition of the *Cassandra* of Lycophron (Basel, 1566 p. 102). A poem addressed to Scaliger by Johannes Gardesius and printed in the edition of Scaliger's translation of Sophocles' *Ajax* (Paris, 1573 p. 102) suggests that the translation of the *Eumenides* was made after that of the *Cassandra*.

However, when Isaac Casaubon prepared an edition of the *Opuscula* of Scaliger (Paris, 1610) he was unable to find the translation. He declares in the Preface 'Sciimus Q. Sept. Florentem Christianum, inter aequales poetas merito suo clarissimum, summa versionum huius viri [sc. Jos. Scaligeri] admiratione ductum, quam ante annos viginti quinque publice est testatus [perhaps a reference to Christianus' remarks in the dedication of his translation of the *Septem ad Thebas*. See below VI, 4], et initia Orphei et Diras Aeschyli ex eiusdem interpretatione ad edendum praeparasse. Sed Dirae quidem, incertum quo casu, perierunt; initia vero manu patris descripta, Claudius Christianus Petro Puteano tradidit' (fol. iiia). Casaubon was at this time in close touch with Claudius Christianus; with his help he had recently printed Florens Christianus' translation of Euripides' *Cyclops* (with I. Casaubon, *De satyrica Graecorum poesi*, Paris, 1605). The Scaliger *Eumenides* had disappeared from the papers of Florens Christianus; it has not since been discovered.

Biogr. :

Joseph Justus Scaliger (de la Scala) was born at Agen in Guyenne during the night of August 4-5, 1540, and he died at Leyden on January 21, 1609. Joseph Scaliger began his studies with his father, the famous Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), and in 1551 he was sent to Bordeaux where he was a pupil of M. A. Muretus and George Buchanan. After three years he returned to Agen and remained there until his father's death. He then went to Paris to study Greek with Adrian Turnebus; he found himself too little prepared and turned to extraordinarily rapid self-instruction not only in Greek but also in Hebrew.

At Paris, Scaliger was associated with Gulielmus Canterus and with Johannes Aurratus (Dorat). In 1562 he became a Calvinist and remained faithful to the Reform until his death. In 1563 Scaliger met Louis Chasteigner, Lord of La Roche-Pozay, who was his patron for thirty years and with whom he travelled widely. Scaliger was in Italy 1565-66 and then spent some time in England. After his active participation as a soldier in the religious struggles, Scaliger in 1570 went to Valence in the Dauphiné where he studied Roman Law with Jacobus Cujacius, and where he began a long friendship with the historian Jacobus Augustus Thuanus. Scaliger was in Strasbourg on St. Bartholomew's Day, and he left for Geneva. In 1574 he returned to France and spent the next fifteen years in the south, living with his patron or his friends. In 1590 Justus Lipsius left his chair at Leyden as he prepared to return to Catholicism; and the Dutch invited Scaliger to take his place. After some hesitation Scaliger accepted and remained there until his death. Though he did not engage in formal teaching, he had many disciples including Janus Dousa, Hugo Grotius, and, as his most devoted disciple, Daniel Heinsius. He was also engaged in extended correspondence with Isaac Casaubon. Scaliger was by general consent recognized as the greatest scholar of his age, and he opened a new epoch, not only for classical scholarship but also for all of ancient history, with his works on chronology.

Works: For a descriptive catalogue of Scaliger's works, see J. Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, pp. 269-307. Scaliger produced a large number of editions and commentaries on Latin authors, including Varro, Vergil, the elegiac poets, Caesar, Festus, Apuleius, and Ausonius; he also edited the Greek Gnomic poets, and Hermes Trismegistos. With his edition of Manilius, *Astronomica* in 1579 Scaliger moved into what would be his special field of ancient chronology. He continued with the first edition of his *De emendatione temporum* in 1583, with editions of Hippolytus, *Canon paschalis*, and of Eusebius, *Chronica*, and

finally with the *Thesaurus Temporum* of 1606. Scaliger produced several Latin translations from the Greek, including the *Alexandra* of Lycophron and the *Ajax* of Sophocles; he translated Martial and other Latin poets into Greek. He wrote Latin and Greek poetry, a number of controversial works, and a large body of letters, including one with an autobiographical conclusion, *Epistola de vetustate et splendore gentis Scaligerae* (first printed 1594).

Bibl.: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 30 (1890) 466-474, by R. Hoche; Cioranescu (1959) 640-642; *Enciclopedia italiana* 30 (1936) 1000; J. P. Nicéron, *Mémoires* 33 (1733) 279-315; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* II, 199-205, 305-306 and passim.

Jacob Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger* (Berlin, 1855); C. M. Bruehl, 'Josef Justus Scaliger. Ein Beitrag zur geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Altertumswissenschaft,' *Zeitschrift f. Religions- u. Geistesgeschichte* 12 (1960) 201-218; Ch. Nisard, *Un triumvirat littéraire: Juste-Lipse, Scaliger, Caillaud* (Paris, 1851); G. W. Robinson, 'J. Scaliger's Estimate of Greek and Latin Authors', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 29 (1918) 133-176; idem, ed. *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger* (Cambridge, 1927). Ph. Tanizey, ed., *Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger* (Agen 1881).

COMMENTARY

a. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the *Eumenides*, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above, I. a.

[*Inc.*]: (f. 5) πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῆ (line 1) Pythia vates agit prologum: res aguntur Delphis. erat in scena oraculum Apollinis, erat tripus, quem vates ascendere solebat.../...

[*Expl.*]: (fol. 65v) ὑμεῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθε (line 1010)... hoc fit a poeta tum quia in loca obscura et tenebrosa erant deducendae Eumenides, tum quia ea res, faces nimirum et splendor, erat allaturus (sic) scenae decus et magnificentiam.

Manuscript: See I. a., above.
Biogr.: See below, Longinus I. a.

IV. Persae

TRANSLATIONS

1. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

Argumentum

[*Inc.*]: Persarum Argumentum. Glaucus in fabulis Aeschyli ex Phoenicibus Phrynicachi Persas falso factas esse ait. Exponit vero principium fabulae hoc, hoc est, Persarum olim ascendentium.../...

[*Expl.*]: Ultimus vero Darius, qui ab Alexandro Philippi filio subactus est. Quidam quartum Darium addunt.

Text

[*Inc.*]: Haec quidem Persarum profici-scentium

In Graeciam praesidia vocantur fidelia,
Et locupletum divitumque
Sedium custodes, tanquam antiquos . . .

[*Expl.*]: Cho. Heu heu Persis terra in-accessibilis. Xer. Heu, hei, hei. triscalmis Heu heu gravibus perdit. Cho. Mittam te tumultuosis luctibus. Finis Persarum.

In Persas (Scholia)

[*Inc.*]: Ὀρσοπολεῖται] Apud Hesychium legitur, ὄρσολοπεῖται . . ./...

[*Expl.*]: μετρόπολις] Athenas intelligit. Nam Athenienses multas traduxerunt colo-nias; ipsi vero αὐτόχθονοι vocati sunt; illique in causa fuerunt, ut autor dicit, de-trimenti Asiae.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

2. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS

Translation in prose. In the manuscript, the plays appear in the following order: *Prometheus*, *Septem*, *Persae*. At the end of the *Septem*, the date 1555 is given.

Vita. (f. 1-2)

[*Inc.*]: Vita Aeschyli Poetae. Aeschylus tragicus patria quidem erat Atheniensis Eleusinius municipii filius Euphorionis frater Cynagiri et Ameniae genus ducens ex patriciis nobilitatis.../...

[*Expl.*]: Victorias consequutus est omni-no tredecim. Non paucas etiam victorias post mortem rettulit.

Argumentum

[Inc.]: (23^r). Aeschyli Persae Interpreti Adriano Turnebo. Argumentum. Glaucus in Aeschyli fabulis ait Persas effectos et imitatos ex Phoenissis Phrynicis... . . .

[Expl.]: (23^r). Fuit is qui eversus fuit ab Alexandro Philippi filio. Quem enim dicunt esse quartum Darium is rex non fuit.

Text

[Inc.]: (23^v). Ista quidem fidelibus fiducia Persarum profectorum in terram Graeciae vocatur et custodes sedium Persiae opulentarum. . .

[Expl.]: (30^r). Heu heu Persica terra infeliciter heu heu qui iustum (?) navibus multis habentibus remos comitabor te fletibus male ominosis et maestitiis.

Manuscript:

(Micro). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 13042 (from St. Germain des Prés), misc. s. XVI, f. 23-30. L. Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Charles* 28 (1867) 550. My attention was called to this manuscript by Dr. Paul Oskar Kristeller.

Biogr.: See above, vol. I, 150. Additions based in part upon information supplied by Charles B. Schmitt (University of Leeds).

Adrianus Turnebus (Adrien Turnèbe) b. 1512 in Les Andelys and d. 1565 in Paris. He studied, beginning at the age of 12, with Toussain, Legros, Guillaume Duchesne, being a protégé of the Cardinal de Chatillon. In 1547 he succeeded Tous-sain at the Collège Royal, first as professor of Greek, then of Greek and Latin philosophy. He wrote letters, orations, poems, and *Adversaria* and edited numerous ancient authors, some of them for the first time (Philo, Synesius, scholia of Sophocles by Demetrius Triclinius). In 1552 he published an excellent text of Aeschylus. He commented on Cicero, Horace, Quintilian and Varro, and he translated into Latin Aristotle, Arrian, Clemens Romanus, Oppian, Philo, Plutarch, and Theophrastus.

Bibl.: See above, vol. I, 150. Additions based in part upon information supplied by Charles B. Schmitt (University of Leeds).

A. Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la lit-*

térature française du seizième siècle (1959) 669-70; *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises (XVII^e siècle)* ed. G. Grete (Paris, 1951) 674; E. and M. Haag, *La France Protestante*, vol. IX (Paris, 1859) 433-36.

C. Astruc, 'Une lettre autographe d'Adrien Turnèbe' *Revue des études grecques* LVIII (1945) 219-227; L. Clement, *De Adriani Turnebi regii professoris praefationibus et poematis* (thes. Paris, 1899).

COMMENTARY

a. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the *Persae*, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above I. a.

Argumentum

[Inc.]: (f. 315) *Αἰσχύλον Πέρσατ*. Inscriptio fabulae est Persae a gente Persarum, quorum cladem poeta hic exponit. argumentum eius iam accipite. . . .

[Expl.]: (f. 315^v) quod in Phoenissis Phrynicis eunuchus nuntiat Xerxis cladem et sternit solia senatoribus. Hic prologum agit coetus seniorum.

Commentary:

f. 316 contains commentary on line 81. The beginning of the commentary is found later.

[Inc.]: (f. 319) *τάδε μὲν Περσῶν* (line 1). Haec sunt pignora Persarum qui Graecis bellum illaturi abierunt. . . .

[Expl.]: (f. 347) *κατ' ἄστρον* (line 1071). confirmat chori dictum, et ait singulas Persarum urbes esse infelices. *ἀβροβάται, ἀβροί* deliciosi, a mut(atione) fort(asse) *πάθοντος*.

Manuscript: See I. a., above.

Biogr.: See Longinus I. a., below.

V. Prometheus Vinctus

TRANSLATIONS

1. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

Argumentum

[Inc.]: Prometheus vinctus. Actus Hypothesis. Ex Prometheo in Scythia vincto (eo quod ignem surripuerat) intelligit Io er-

rans, ubi in Aegyptum venerit se paritum ex Jovis congressu Epaphum.

[Expl.] : Animadvertisendum est, non esse Prometheum, ut vulgo fertur, Causas vincit sed in illis potius Europae partibus Oceani, ut ex verbis ad Io factis colligere licet.

Text

[Inc.] : Aeschyli Prometheus vinctus. Robur et vis.

Terrae sane in procul remotum venimus solum,

Scythicam in viam, ac profundam solitudinem.

[Expl.] : O matris mei cultus, o omnibus Aether commune lumen volvens, Vides me quam iniusta patior.

In Prometheus Vinctum Scholia.

[Inc.] : Cum doctissimorum virorum libri, pro diversa materia diversas sint sortiti inscriptiones; hoc tamen potissimum tragicis poetis accidit, ut ex personis patientibus plerumque suas fabulas nominaverint.

[Expl.] : γόννα πεντηκοντάπαι] Periphrasis pro Danao, qui propter matrimonium nepotum et filiarum fugit Argos. Sed de his in Danais loquemur.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

2. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS

Argumentum

[Inc.] : (f. 2) Cum ignem a Jove furatus esset Prometheus et hominibus dedisset ignem homines consecuti sunt omnes artes. Juppiter iratus tradit eum Potentiae et Violentiae satellitibus.

[Expl.] : (2^v) Personae sunt potentia et vis Mulciber Prometheus Nympharum Oceanidum chorus Io Inachi filia Mercurius. Praefatur potentia et vis.

Text

[Inc.] : (f. 2^v) Aeschyli Prometheus Vinctus.

In solum terrae longinquum venimus, in Scythicum rus in solitudinem inviam. Vulcane, tibi autem mandata opportet curiae esse Jovis...

[Expl.] : (f. 14^v) O matris meae Themidis maiestas — omnium Aether communis lumen qui volvis videsne me quam indigna patior iniqua.

For manuscript and biography, see above under IV. 2.

3. MATTHIAS GARBITIUS

Translation in prose. Data kindly supplied by Mr. Dennis E. Rhodes.

1. *Dedication*

Ad Lectorem M. Garbitius

[Inc.] : ἔνθα φιλάνθρωπος καὶ πάνσοφος εἰρχτο Προμηθεὺς,
ἀντ' εὐεργεσιῶν δίγια πάγχν λαχών.

[Expl.] : ταῦτ' ἄρα γ' ἔχθιστός γε θεοῖς,
ἀφετός γε βροτοῖσι,
τλῆ, ἄλλοισι σοφός γ', οἵδε μὲν οὕτι σοφός.

2. *Dedication*

Patricii et senatorii ordinis viro pietate, virtute et sapientia in primis eminenti Hieronymo Bomgartnero, Domino suo observandissimo, salutem et foelicitatem in Christo domino nostro precatur Mathias Garbitius Graecae linguae et morum doctrinae professor ordinarius Tubingae in Academia inclyta.

[Inc.] : Hanc Aeschyli, poetae sapientissimi, tragediam longe gravissimam, sicut post Hesiodi explicationem certo consilio suscepit interpretandam. . . ita post illius evulgationem elicitam hanc quoque fabulae huius interpretationem tandem passus sum mihi elicere. . . .

[Expl.] : Vale quam optime cum omnibus tuis in Christo Domino nostro gubernante te in omnibus consiliis et conatibus tuis per suam coelestem προμήθειαν.

Prefatory Poem

[Inc.] : M. Toxites Nunc etiam αὐθάδης regit omnia ubique Προμηθεύς :

Qui tamen hoc possit cernere, rarus erit.

[Expl.] : Tanta est humanae vesana superbia mentis :

Quae magis Illyricus iam tibi nota facit.

Scholia

[Inc.] : Mathiae Garbitii Illyrici in Aeschyli Prometheus Scholia. Praefatio.

Quae de authore hoc, quem interpretandum suscepimus, dici poterant, ex Graecis praesertim scriptoribus, sunt fere praefixa hisce eius quae adhuc restant, fabulis. . . .

[Expl.]: Huius hic sunt praefixa duea περιοχαί quae breviter capita negotii huius recensent, quorum cognitio hic ab initio sufficere videtur.

1. Argumentum

[Inc.]: Cum Prometheus Jovi furatus esset ignem, et eum hominibus contribuisset, per quem ipsi homines invenerunt artes omnes, Jupiter indignatione commotus tradidit ipsum ministris suis, Potentiae, Violentiae et Vulcano. . . .

[Expl.]: Actio fabulae proponitur in Scythia ad montem Caucasum. Ipsa autem inscribitur Prometheus captivus.

2. Argumentum

[Inc.]: Argumentum Aeschyli Tragoediae, quae inscribitur Prometheus vincitus. Ex Prometheus in Scythia vincto propter ignem furtim sublatum Io in erroribus suis ad ipsum delata cognoscit se, cum pervenerit in Aegyptum, ex attractatione Jovis parturam Epaphum.

[Expl.]: . . . sed ad Oceanum in partibus Europae, quemadmodum licet colligere ex iis quae ad Io dicuntur.

De personis fabulae

[Inc.]: De moribus personarum, quae a Poeta inducuntur in hac fabula, nihil dicitur

[Expl.]: alterum Chori Nympharum cum Prometheus, quod subinde usque ad finem negotii iteratur, tertium Oceani cum Prometheus, quartum Vis, quintum Mercurii cum eodem.

3. Argumentum

[Inc.]: Est inscriptio fabulae, quae continet tria: authorem, genus scripti, et argumentum

[Expl.]: νράτος Prometheus ad locum designatum perduto, suo et Violentiae nomine alloquitur Vulcanum, et eum cohortatur ad aggressionem et executionem solicitam mandati de captivo validissime constringendo.

Text

[Inc.]: (Potentia et Vis.) Pervenimus quidem in remotum terrae solum, In viam Scythicam, et solitudinem inviam; Tibi vero Vulcane curae esse debent mandata. [Expl.]: O matris meae sanctitas, o omnium Communem lucem circumvolvens aether, Cernis quam iniusta patiar?

Scholia. [Inc.]: χθονός locum Scythiae,

in quem pervenerunt, paucis describit. Pervenimus, inquit, in locum. . . .

[Expl.]: Quam nobis omnibus contribuat per spiritum suum Magister coelestis, in quo sunt thesauri omnis sapientiae et virtutis, ut inde totum nostrum φρονεῖν spectet πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

Editions:

1559, Basileae (Basel) : Joannes Oporinus. Gr.-Lat. The text is that of Turnebus. MH; BM; *Index Aureliensis* A I (1962) 98.

1567, Geneva : H. Stephanus. Without dedications and preface (v. 3, p. 853-943). With Euripides and Sophocles. NNC; MH; *Index Aureliensis* A I (1962) 98. The title announces all the plays in the edition as 'Cum duplii interpretatione Latina, una ad verbum, altera carmine', but the *Prometheus* is found only in the prose translation of Garbitius.

1614, Geneva : P. de la Rovière. See above under composite editions.

Biography:

Matthias Garbitius or Grabitius (Matthias Grabitz), born in Illyria (Dalmatia), place and date unknown. He died in Tübingen in 1559. He was trained by his patron Joachim Camerarius and studied in Heidelberg and Wittenberg. He became professor of Greek in Tübingen. Luther and Melanchthon commended him and gave him recommendations, but the Visitatores in Tübingen criticized his harsh personality and doubted the integrity of his protestantism.

Bibl.:

K. Klüpfel, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1878) 367.

4. FLORENS CHRISTIANUS (lost).

Florens Christianus translated the *Prometheus* before 1585 and supplied it with a commentary, but neither has survived.

The most direct evidence for the translation is found in I. Casaubonus, *De satyrica Graecorum Poesi* (Paris, 1605). Casaubon included in the volume Florens Christianus' translation of Euripides' *Cyclops*, a translation which had been given him by Florens' son Claudius. Casaubon also included a list of Florens' pub-

lished works and a second list: 'Libri edendi quos habet penes se Claudius Christianus Florentis F.' (p. 5, second pagination), and we find the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus listed with other translations.

Further evidence is found in a *Prologus* written for Florens Christianus' *Prometheus* by Joseph Scaliger. Scaliger speaks of this in a somewhat garbled reminiscence found in the *Scaligerana* (Hagae Comitum, 1668 p. 25) 'Aeschili Prologum Promethei verti, il y a trente six ans rogante F. Christiano. Cedit in opuscolum Josephi Scaligeri. Je ne m'en scaurois souvenir, j'ay point de mémoire.'

The *Prologus* to the *Prometheus* (In Aeschyli Prometheum a Fl. Christiano conversum, *Prologus*) was printed by Casaubon in the Scaliger *Opuscula* (Paris, 1610 p. 210-211; reprinted with some changes in J. Scaliger, *Poemata*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 47-48). After a discussion of ancient tragedy and modern poetry, Scaliger speaks of Christianus' translation:

Favete linguis vos et animum advortite.
Desmota Graeca est Aeschuli Tragoedia;
Poeta noster vortit illam barbare;
illamque opimam et uberem facundiam
et scriptio[n]e est assecutus et stilo:
ut ne quid inibi possit invenirier
errore omissum, sive perpetudine.
Hanc ergo vobis fabulam e vetere
[novam]
Adporto. Tantum est. vos valete et
[vivite].

The phrase 'vortit illam barbare' does not indicate a vernacular translation, but rather echoes a joking phrase used by Plautus (e.g. *Trin.* 19: Philemo scripsit, Plautus vortit barbare)¹. Similarly in a parallel *Prologus* to Florens' Latin translation of Aristophanes' *Pax*, we read

Irena Aristophani vetus Comoedia est
Florens recantat atque vortit barbare
Hoc est Latinum quantum et ut potuit...
(Paris, 1579 p. 3).

Florens Christianus mentions the *Prologus* of Scaliger in the preface to his 1585 edition

of the *Septem ad Thebas* (See below VI. 4). In the same preface he also refers to his *Commentaria* or *Glossemata* on the *Prometheus*. While the work does not appear to have survived, its general character and scope may be suggested by the *Glossemata* or *Commentaria* which accompany Christianus' translation of Aristophanes' *Pax* (Paris, 1579, second pagination pp. 1-141).

Biogr.: See VI. 4 below.

5. PAULUS AICARDUS (?)

Translation in prose, made during the last decades of the sixteenth century. It is fragmentary, beginning with v. 700.

Text:

[Inc.]: (f. 243, v. 700) Prius desideria perfecisti sic (?) a me citius, discere enim hoc primum vultis quam circa eam calamitatem enarrat.

[Expl.]: (f. 251) O matris meae reverentia, o omnium Aether, communis lux circumvertens, vides me, ut iniusta patior.

Manuscript:

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. J 205 inf., misc. s. xvi-xvii, f. 243-251. A. Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* (1933) 237-239. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* I (1963) 326.

Biography:

Paulus Aicardus (Paolo Aicardo, or Aicardo, or Aicardi) was born in Albenga; the year is unknown. There are different dates of death given by Mazzuchelli (1, 1, 225), who indicates August 10, 1607 (an obvious error since Pinelli, who survived Aicardo, died in 1601), by Rivolta (p. xxiv) who gives Nov. 3, 1597, and by P. Gualdo (*Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli*, p. 65) who states: 'Obiit Aicardus anno MDXCVII. IV ID. AUG.', that is, August 10 (verified by Dott. Rino Avesani). The last date must be considered as correct. He distinguished himself in philosophy and medicine at Torino, and pursued further studies at Padova in 1570. There he met Pinelli, became his intimate friend, and was entrusted with Pinelli's library during the latter's travels. He withdrew with him to Monselice in order to escape the plague. His knowledge of Latin and Greek was

1. I am indebted to Professor Revilo P. Oliver (University of Illinois) for this information.

renowned. Others had him revise their manuscripts before publication, e. g. G. Mercuriale. He is called 'Polyhistor, Philhellen'. It seems, therefore, not unlikely to me that the letters 'P. A.' which are connected with the Aeschylus translation, stand for Paulus Alcardus, especially since the manuscript comes from Pinelli.

Bibliography :

Mazzuchelli I 225; M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800* (Boston, 1962) I, 75.

Paulus Gualdus, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli* (Augustae Vindelicorum 1607) 55-70; Pierre de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887) p. 103 and *passim*; Adolfo Rivolta, *Catalogo dei Codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* (Milano, 1933) XXIV-XXV.

6. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS.

A prose translation by Casaubonus of lines 1-642 of the *Prometheus* is preserved in Ms. Burney 367 of the British Museum. Fraenkel does not mention this translation, and it is not clear what its relation may be to the Casaubonus translations found in the Cambridge marginalia and in the Paris manuscript (see above, I. 2). Unlike the translation of the *Agamemnon* in the Paris manuscript, the translation of the Burney manuscript, while prose, is not of the interlinear, word-for-word type.

Text

[Inc.]: (f. 153). Aeschyli Promethe(us). Nos quidem ad remotissimam telluris plag(am) ad viam Scythicam, ad solitudines inaccessi(biles). Vulcane mandata tibi curare oportet, ut hunc pa(?) ad saxa praecelse affigas.

[Expl.]: (v. 642, f. 159^v) I. Non video qui possim ego vobis non facere (?) caeterum quidquid petitis; audietis verbis perspicuis.

Manuscript :

London, British Museum, ms. Burney 367, misc. s. XVI, f. 153-159^v. Catal. MSS. BM, New Series I (1840) 125. Probably autograph.

Biogr.: See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

COMMENTARY

a. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the *Prometheus*, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581.

For details, see above I. a.

[Inc.]: (f. 199) Vis et imperium admonent Vulcanum ut iussa Jovis exequatur et suffigat Prometheus in vertice montis.../...

[Expl.]: (f. 247^v) (line 1040) cum illud minime sit dubium, numquam sibi moriendum esse; turbet itaque, inquit, misceataque Juppiter omnia, detrudat me in Tartara, numquam arcanum hoc vaticinium enuntiare me coegerit, nisi prius vinculis me liberarit (verified by Mr. P. F. J. Obbema).

Manuscript : See I. a., above.

Biogr.: See Longinus, I. a, below.

VI. *Septem ad Thebas*

TRANSLATIONS

I. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

Argumentum

[Inc.]: Argumentum Tragoediae Septem Duces ad Thebas. Laius Labdaci filius regnavit Thebis, uxorem adeptus Iocastem filiam Menoecei: qua cum congregari, filiosque generare non audebat.../...

[Expl.]: Inscrbitur argumentum, Septem ad Thebas, propterea quod septem duces custodiunt septem portas. Sunt vero hae Thebae septem, quae vero in Aegypto centum portarum.

Text

[Inc.]: (Praefatur Eteocles populum Thebanum ad praesidium urbis praeparans). Thebani cives, quae opportuna sunt, opus est dicere

Quicumque negotiorum curam habet, in puppi civitatis Habens clavum, palpebras ne det somno.

[Expl.]: Ad deos enim et Jovis robur hic clamavit, ne everteretur urbs Thebanorum: neque impetu extraneorum viorum dissolverentur optima quaeque. Finis.

In Septem ad Thebas Scholia

[Inc.] : *Κάδμον πολίται*] Periphrasis pro Thebanis. Fuit enim Cadmus conditor Thebarum.

[Expl.] : θεωρὶς, inquit, πλοῖον ἀθήνησιν ἐστὶν ἡ κατ' ἔτος εἰς δῆλον ἐπέμπετο, καὶ εὐξαμένου θησέως ὅτ' εἰς κρήτην ἀπήιει καθ' ἔκαστον ἔτος ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεμπον. vocat enim θεωρίδα cymbam Charontis. sed illa non est quae proficiscebatur in Delum, propterea dicit ἀστιβῆ ἀπόλλωνι.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1,

2. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS

Argumentum :

[Inc.] : (f. 15) Argumentum Septem ad Thebas. Laius Labdaci filius regnabat Thebis possidens uxorem Iocastam filiam Menoecii cum qua congredi et liberos procreare non audebat.

[Expl.] : (f. 15v). Argumentum Septem ad Thebas propter septem duces exercitus Argivorum etiam virorum. Sunt autem ipsae Thebae septem portas habentes. Quae vero Egypto sunt centum portas habentes.

Text

[Inc.] : (f. 16). Cadmi cives, oportet loqui quod usui est qui rem tuetur et puppi civitatis regens clavum gestat non sopitans (?) somno.

[Expl.] : (f. 21). Nos tum cum eo exhibimus, et quemadmodum ius civitas comprobatur. Nam post deos et Jovis potentiam ipse prohibuit ne urbs Cadmeorum everteretur neve obrueretur fluctu horum alienigenarum praecipue.

Finis coronat opus. 1555

For the manuscript, see above under IV. 2.

3. JOANNES CASELIUS

Translation in prose.

Dedication

[Inc.] : Ad illustrissimum DN. ULRICUM ducem Megap., principem Vandalorum, Comitem Suerinensem, Provinciarum Rostochianae et Stargardensis Dominum Prooeium IOANNIS CASELII. Semper homines docti, iidemque boni viri ad reges monumenta ingenii sui mittere soliti sunt.

[Expl.] : Sed nascatur mihi novi capitinis explicatio ; finem igitur faciam epistulae. Deus max. idemque opt. te optimum principem tibi, tuis, et imperio incolumem custodiat. Vale. Rostochio Kal. Decemb. 1580.

Text

[Inc.] : Interpretatio Aeschyli Tragoediae septem ad Thebas Ducum. Eteocles. O Cadmi cives, oportet eum, qui in puppi civitatis clavum dirigens neque oculis somnum capiens summam rerum custodit, quae ex usu publico sunt dicere.

[Expl.] : Semichorus. At nos hunc comitamus, ut civitas et jus probant. Secundum deos enim, et vires Iovis, hic maxime fulcivit Cadmeorum civitatem, ne evertetur neque peregrinorum virorum obrueretur fluctibus. Finis.

Argumentum

Argumentum Tragoediae Aeschyli, Septem ad Thebas Ducum.

[Inc.] : (fol. M₄v) Mutuum Oedipi filiorum exitium continet haec tragoedia. Illius autem calamitatis ut prima semina aperiamus. . . . [Expl.] (fol. O₁v) quod officium natura soror germano debeat, altera parte chori pertracta in suam sententiam.

Scholia

[Inc.] : (fol. O₂) Habebam equidem in animo tragediam hanc a capite ad calcem scholiis meis illustrare. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. P₄) Atque ita me geram in caeteris etiam meis vigiliis, quas in manibus habeo futuras neque dissimiles priorum neque indignas homine eruditio neque inutiles cultoribus litterarum, certe noxias bonorum nemini.

Editions :

(micr.) 1581, Rostochii (Rostock) : Stephanus Myliander. Gr.-Lat. (Greifswald, Universitätsbibliothek) ; *Index Aureliensis* A I (1962) 98.

(*) 1582, Rostochii : Myliander. *Index Aureliensis* 98 (Bonn ; CtY)

Biography. See below, Gregorius Nazianzenus III. 15.

4. FLORENS CHRISTIANUS.

Translation in verse.

A verse translation by Florens Christianus of the *Septem ad Thebas* was published

ed in 1585, along with an edition of the Greek text. In the prefatory letter to the publisher, Federicus Morellus, Christianus indicates that he had also worked on scholia and notes to the play, but these are not included in the edition.

Q. Sept. Florens Christianus Federico Morello suo S. D.

[Inc.] : (fol. aii) Vicit pertinaciam meam amor in te meus, per quem licuit tibi esse pervicaci. Ecce enim Septem-Thebanam Aeschuleam Tragoediam, quam si non Latinam at barbarem factam fidei tuae commendans ut typis mandes, quasi invitus tradō quod nolle nudum prodire istud scriptioris genus, sed cum scholiis et notatis quae in schedis meis sunt adsecutura mox Commentarium ad Prometheus Desmotam. Deinde male metuebam a criticis nostri temporis, quorum iudicia saepe sunt in dolo et ambitione, quamvis Princeps Scaliger tanquam unus Plato instar mihi multorum esse potest, cui quam non displicerunt priora Aeschulea nostra, argumentum ut scis dedit ex elegantissima (sic) Prologo. . . Glossemata ad Aeschulum nostra habebis quando voles : vix enim alio nomine digna censeo quae in nostris commentariis notatique reperies. . . [Expl.] : ut si aliquando τὰ ἡμέτερα νοσῆι et incidamus fortassis in Pelopidarum exempla, sanates (sic, i.e. sanatos) induamus animos ad ea toleranda quae fatalis Necessitas Deo volente invexerit. Vale mi Morelle.

Poem

[Inc.] : Ad Federicum Morellum Typogr. Regium, De Florentis Christiani stylo Tragoico.

Papae! cothurno nixus Attico, novus Aemulator Aeschyli

Sic fortioris compotem Tragoediae Examussim originem. . . .

[Expl.] : Vigere in hoc FLORENTE Gallia abneget.

Atticissimum Aeschylum?

Paulus Melissus Francus

Comes Pal. et Eques, civis Romanus.

2. Poem.

[Inc.] : In Quint. Septimii Florentis Christiani Poemata.

An mirum est Musas, flores quis tem-
[pora cingunt,

FLORENTIS scriptis velle favere sui?

[Expl.] : Huicque Thalia dedit numeros
ad comica natos:

Coetera confertim sex tribuere Deae.
Fed. Morellus P. T. R.

Argumentum :

[Inc.] : Hypothesis vel (ut vocant) Argumentum Aeschyli Tragoediae, quae inscribitur Septem ad Thebas. Laius Labdacus filius cum regnaret Thebis uxorem habuit Iocastam filiam Menoecei, quam cognoscere ad liberos procreandos cavebat, metuens diras Pelopis imprecations.

[Expl.] : Inscriptiturque Hypothesis, Septem ad Thebas : quod septem duces custodirent portas Thebanorum. Nam septem portas habuerunt istae Thebae : quae vero in Aegypto sunt, centum.

Text.

[Inc.] : Eteocles. Cadmea plebs res se-
[rias aequum est loqui,
Qui civitatis obtinens servacu-
[lum
Guberna veluti versat haud som-
[num videns.

[Expl.] : Namque secundum vim superum
[et Iovis,
Cadmeam urbem tuitus sic est
Ne fuerit subversa, atque undis
Alienigenum
Penitus submersa virorum.
Finis Aeschyleae Tragoediae Septem Ad Thebas.

(On the last page an emblem around which is written : δύσμορον ὁ θυητῶν γέρος
οὓς ἐν γράμμα κυλίνδει)

Edition :

1585, Lutetiae (Paris) : Apud Federicum Morellum Typographum Regium, via Jacobea, ad insigne Fontis. BM ; BN ; CtY ; Index Aureliensis 98 ; DK 2, 110.

Biogr. :

Florens Christianus (Florent Chrestien). Was b. Jan. 26, 1541 in Orléans and d. Oct. 3, 1596 in Vendôme. Called himself Quintus because he was the fifth child in his family, and Quintus Septimius Florens was also the name of the Church Father Tertullian. His father Guillaume was a scholar. He was brought up as a Protestant and studied Greek at Geneva under Henri Estienne and at Lausanne. He became the

teacher of Henry IV when the latter was still Prince of Béarn. Although Henry did not warm up to him personally, he ransomed him from captivity during the siege of Vendôme. After having satirized Ronsard and Pibrac he made peace with both. He wrote much Greek, Latin and French poetry. He translated Catullus into Greek, Oppian into French and Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, Musaeus, Sophocles and parts of the Greek Anthology into Latin.

Bibl. : Cioranescu (1959) 209-210 ; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* 8 (1959) 1277 ; *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises, Le seizième siècle* (1951) 180 ; Eckstein 90 ; Hutton F 167-170 ; Michaud 8 (1844) 209-210. Mark Pattison, *Essays* I (1892) 182-183.

5. PAULUS AICARDUS (?)

Text

[*Inc.*] : (f. 252) Aeschyli ii tragoed. Eteocl. Cadmi cives decet edere sententias utiles quicumque gubernat rem in puppi civitatis clavum movens, palpebras non sopiens somno.

[*Expl.*] : (f. 268^v) Sem. Nos autem una cum isto, sicut et civitas et iustum laudat. Post enim beatos et Jovis potentiam hic Thebanos liberavit ne everteretur neque externorum fluctu hominum obrueretur maxime.

Finis secunde tragoedie Aeschyli.

For manuscript and biography, see above under V. 4.

6. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

Fragmentary prose translation of choruses and lyrics.

Casaubonus long concerned himself with a planned edition of Aeschylus with commentary. Though the edition never came to fruition, much of Casaubonus' preparatory work for it has survived (see I 2, above), and the marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge contain translations of the following choral and lyric passages of the *Septem ad Thebas* : 78-107, 288-335, 720-91, 832-53, and 915-25. For details on these marginalia, see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63.

Manuscript :

See above I. 2. a.

Biogr. : See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

COMMENTARY

a. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the *Septem ad Thebas*, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above I. a.

[*Inc.*] : (f. 69) Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ θῆβαις (sic). Haec est inscriptio huius fabulae propter septem duces, qui Thebas oppugnatum venerunt secuti Polynicis auspicia. . . .

[*Expl.*] : (f. 96) Καὶ πόλις ἀλλως (line 1070) exemplum civitatis se secuturas aiunt. Civitas etiam alias aliter sentit de jure, idest quod improbat iam, probabit fortasse paulo post.

Manuscript : See I. a., above.

Biogr. : See below, Longinus I. a.

VII. SUPPLICES

TRANSLATION

1. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

Argumentum

[*Inc.*] : Supplicum Argumentum. Danaus Beli filius, cum accepisset oraculum se a proprio genere interfectumiri, noluit quinquaginta filias, quae illi erant, filiis Aegypti fratribus despondere.

[*Expl.*] : cum hoc Aegypti filii perceperint, illum insecuri sunt, quibus Danaus filias in uxores dedit. Illae vero a parente instructae, maritum quaeque una excepta peremitt.

Text

[*Inc.*] : Utinam Jupiter quidem Aphictor [videat prompte

Classem nostram

Navalem elevatam

Ante angusta ostia

Nili divam vero relinquentes,
Terram vicinam Syriae, fugimus.

[*Expl.*] : Sem. Praestantius malo, et divisionem probo.

Et causa causae, sequi cum precibus meis,
Solutoriis machinis a Deo.

In Supplices (Scholia).

[*Inc.*] : Νείλον διὰρ χθόνα] Aegyptum intelligit. Nam inde Danaus cum filiabus quinquaginta fugerat Argos.

[*Expl.*] : Ciliciam intelligit in qua educatus fuit Gigas ille, ut ostendimus in Prometheo.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

VIII. *Sententiae*

TRANSLATIONS

1. GULIELMUS CANTERUS

The first task of sixteenth century Aeschylean scholarship had been to produce Greek editions and Latin translations of the preserved plays. As this task neared completion, we find an increased concern with the 'sententiae' of the extant plays and the fragments of the lost plays. The sentences and the fragments were closely connected, since a large proportion of the fragments were indeed 'sententiae', and since the main ancient model for sentences, Johannes Stobaeus, was also a prime source for fragments of lost plays. Books I-II of Stobaeus had been translated into Latin verse by Gulielmus Canterus in an edition published at Antwerp in 1575; Books III-IV had appeared in a prose translation by Conrad Gesner published at Zurich in 1543.

Gulielmus Canterus went on from his work on Stobaeus to make the first Graeco-Latin collection of the sentences of Aeschylus, and it was published posthumously at Antwerp in 1580 as an addition to Canterus' complete Greek Aeschylus. In the prolegomena, Canterus promised a Latin translation of all the Greek tragedies, 'statuimus...post restitutos a nobis, quantum eius fieri potuit, Graecos tres tragicos, poetas praestantissimos, ad eorundem Latinam interpretationem nos convertere, eamque omnibus partibus elaboratam et accuratam studiosis dare' (p. 6). In this projected work of translation, Gulielmus Canterus seems to have gone no further than brief collections of sentences from each of the three tragedians (for Sophocles, see the edition of Antwerp, 1579; for Euripides, see the edition of Antwerp, 1571).

The sentences from Aeschylus include 4 from the *Prometheus*, 2 from the *Septem contra Thebas*, 1 from the *Persae*, 2 from the *Agamemnon*, 1 from the *Choephorae*, 1 from the *Dirae* (sc. *Eumenides*), 2 from the *Supplices*, 1 from the *Armorum Judicia*, and 1 from the *Cares*.

The sentences of Aeschylus are found after the Greek texts of the tragedies and with a separate pagination; the Greek originals and the Latin translations are printed on facing pages.

Aeschyli Sententiae aliquot insigniores breviter collectae et Latinis versibus redditiae a Gulielmo Cantero.

Eiusdem Aeschyli aliae sententiae a Stobaeo citatae, et Latinis versibus redditiae, ab eodem Gul. Cantero (ed. Antwerp, 1580).

Prometheus

[*Inc.*] : (unnumb. fol. 359) Namque hic solet quodammodo tyrannidem tentare morbus, non amicis fidere (lines 226-227). . . .

Cares

[*Expl.*] : (unnumb. fol. 361). Sed Mars amat qui semper acie sunt in omni principes. (Nauck, Fr. 100)

Edition :

1580, Antwerp : ex officina C. Plantini, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae VII. . . opera Gul. Canteri. Ruelens and De Backer p. 215. BM ; BN ; CtY ; MH.*

1663, London : typis J. Flesher, prostant apud C. Bee, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae septem*, ed. T. Stanleius p. 867. BM ; BN ; CtY ; MH.

1664, London : typis Jacobi Flesher, prostant vero apud Jonam Hart, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae Septem*, ed. T. Stanleius p. 867. BM ; CtY.

1745, The Hague : apud P. Gosse filium et socios, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae* ed. J. C. de Pauw, v. II, 1118. BM ; BN ; CtY.

1816, Cambridge : typis ac sumptibus academicis, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae*, ed. S. Butler, v. IV, 101-103. BM ; Ct Y.

Biogr. :

Gulielmus Canterus (Willem Canter) was born at Utrecht on July 24, 1542; he died at Louvain on May 18, 1575 and was buried there.

During his earliest years, he exhibited a zeal for study, and he began his schooling

under Georgius Macropedius at Utrecht in 1548. In 1554 he went to Louvain where he studied Latin and then Greek under Cornelius Valerius. Finally Valerius sent him on to Paris for further Greek, and here he studied with Johannes Auratus (Dorat) 1560-62. Canterus left France because of the religious troubles, and spent a number of years in travel. In Italy he visited Bologna, Padua, and Venice; from Italy he went to Germany. He finally returned to Louvain, where he spent the last eight years of his life. He devoted himself entirely to a rigorous scholarly routine, and he declined to become involved either in teaching or in legal practice despite repeated offers. Contemporaries attributed his early death from consumption to his excessive devotion to scholarship.

Canterus' works include *Novarum lectionum libri quatuor* and *De ratione emendandi Graecos auctores syntagma*. He edited Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides among the Greeks, and Propertius, Ovid, and Ausonius among the Latins. In addition he did numerous translations from Greek into Latin, including Aristides, the pseudo-Aristotelian *Peplus*, and Lycophron's *Alexandra*.

Bibl. : A. J. van de Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* Part III (1858) pp. 37-38; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1876) 766-767 by v. Slee; F. A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator philologorum* p. 79; Joecher I (1750) 1630-31; J. P. Nicéron, *Mémoires* 29 (1734) 334-345; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* I (1911) c. 560; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* II, 216-217.

2. HUGO GROTIUS

Hugo Grotius published in 1626 a standard collection of sentences from Greek tragedy and comedy, and he included a section on Aeschylus; Grotius offered both the Greek texts and Latin verse translations.

Grotius' collection of sentences arose out of his earlier work on Johannes Stobaeus. He had in 1623 published a volume including both the Greek text and a verse translation of the poetic sentences in Stobaeus (H.

Grotius, *Dicta Poetica quae apud Io. Stobaeum extant, emendata et Latino carmine reddita*. Paris. No. 458 in the Grotius *Bibliographie* of ter Meulen and Diermanse). Grotius notes that he had added his own verse translation because the earlier Gesner translation had been in prose 'magno cum gratiae detimento' and because the Canterus translation had been unsuccessful 'quos [sc. versus] autem verterat Canterus, graece latineque doctissimus, ita verterat ut appareret in carminibus eum minus fuisse exercitatum' (fol. a 4).

Even while working on the selections from Stobaeus, Grotius came to realize the need for a larger collection of sentences, and he began to read widely in order to locate as many of the fragments of lost plays as possible. This was particularly necessary in the case of the tragedies; in the case of the comedies two printed collections already existed. While engaged in this reading, Grotius learned from Andreas Schott that a collection of the comic and tragic fragments had been made by Theodorus Canterus and was available in manuscript: 'vir natus demerendis literis Andreas Schottus me monuit factam a viro non mediocriter eruditio Theodoro Cantero diligentissimam utriusque generis comici ac tragici collectionem, cui additas a se, item a Scaligero emendationes nonnullas, et ex libris antehac editis Latinam soluta oratione versionem. Eos codices ipso monente a Roverianis typographis utendos sumsi, unde haberi poterit si quis implere velit quod nostro operi abest' (from Grotius' Preface to his *Excerpta* fol. ē 1^v).

Further details on the collection of Theodorus Canterus are found in the letters of Andreas Schottus to Grotius. Theodorus Canterus (1564-1617) was a younger brother of Gulielmus Canterus (See 1, above). Theodorus received an excellent training in classics, but he devoted most of his life to law and politics. In 1588 he became Mayor of Utrecht and held that position until he was banished for alleged Catholic and Austrian sympathies in 1610 (for the details, see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* I (1911) c. 555, s. v. Dirk Canter). While in exile at Antwerp, Theo-

dorus turned again to scholarship and prepared the collection of Greek tragic and comic fragments; he was surely following in the tradition of his brother Gulielmus, and he may have been able to use the latter's papers. On his death in 1617, Theodorus left the collection to Andreas Schott with the hope that they might be published. Schott earnestly worked for their publication and since he doubted that they would be acceptable without a Latin translation, he added one (Grotius, as noted, indicates that it consisted of prose versions taken from works already published). Schott had then sent the ms. to the printer P. de la Rovi  re, and it was from Rovi  re's heirs that Grotius obtained it (for the story of the Theodorus Canterus collection, see the letters of Schott to Grotius in the *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius* II 1936, 845 p. 300 f.; 860 p. 318-19; III 1961, 1312 p. 378; 1332 p. 400. See also the letter of Grotius to Schott III 1086 p. 59).

Grotius, as he tells us in his Preface, had returned the ms. to the printers de la Rovi  re. In the middle of the eighteenth century Joecher in his *Gelehrten-Lexicon* (I [1750] p. 1630) states that the ms. then belonged to Petrus Dorvilius. The d'Orville mss. eventually reached the Bodleian, and the various fragment collections of Theodorus Canterus are listed in the printed catalogues (*Codices manuscripti et impressi cum notis manuscriptis olim d'Orvilliani qui in bibliotheca Bodleiana apud Oxonienses adservantur*. Oxford, 1806 pp. 25-26. MSS. X I. 4, 19; X I. 4, 20; and X I. 4, 22; F. Madan etc. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* IV 1897, pp. 66-67, nos. 16999-17001. Location of the d'Orville mss. supplied by P. O. Kristeller).

Hugo Grotius, *Excerpta ex Tragoediis et Comoediis Graecis, tum quae extant tum*

quae perierunt Latinis verbis reddita (ed. Paris, 1626).

Benigno lectori :

[Inc.]: (unnumb. fol. a₁₁a) Non multo te sermone hic, mi Lector, detinebo. Suf- ficiunt enim et instituto meo demonstrando, et commendendae utilitati huius quoque operis ea quae ad versus ex Stobaeo a nobis graece latineque editos, anni iam tres sunt, praefati sumus. . . . [Expl.] (fol. ē₁v) quod quin ita sit non reluctor, partim errare natae humanae infirmitati, partim temporis condones. Lutetiae pridie Cal. Iunias anni M. DC. XXVI.

p. 2. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus*

[Inc.]: Dis coelestibus nunc ille poenas criminis debet sui. (lines 8-9). . . .

p. 56 (Incerta)

[Expl.]: Iustitia quoties copulata est robori hac esse biga quid queat valentius (Nauck, Fr. 381).

Editions :

1626, Paris : apud Nicolaum Buon (Jacob ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des crits imprims de Hugo Grotius*, The Hague, 1950, no. 468). BM ; BN ; CtY ; MH.

1663, London : typis J. Flesher, prostant apud C. Bee. BM ; BN ; CtY ; MH. Aes- chylus, *Tragoediae* ed. T. Stanley. Grotius' *Sententiae* are found pp. 868-78.

1664, London : typis Jacobi Flesher, prostant vero apud Jonam Hart, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae*, ed. T. Stanleius, pp. 868-78. BM ; CtY.

1745, The Hague : apud P. Gosse, filium, et socios, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae*, ed. J. C. de Pauw, vol. II, 1119-1130. BM ; BN ; CtY.

1816, Cambridge : typis ac sumptibus academicis, with Aeschylus, *Tragoediae* ed. S. Butler, vol. IV, 105-132.

Biogr. : See I, 110.